727 According to the same informant, some warriors from this village had returned from a war a few days previously, bringing back with them the mummified heads of two of their enemies, necklaces of human teeth, and other trophies.

As it turned out, I did not regret my choice, for I was well received in Necodemos and I encountered there, more vivid [773] than anywhere else, the legend of Mundurucu beginnings which considers this very maloca or village the cradle of the human race.

133 I continued up the Cadereri, Paranã river! Every day we had to carry bodily our light boat over sand bars. Here was confirmed an opinion I had already formed, namely, that the Cadereri, as well as the Araguaia, Juruena, Mamoré, and other upper branches of the great southern tributaries of the Amazon, such as the Tocantins, the Tapajoz, the Madeira and others, would dry up completely during the summer months, baring their channels, were it not for the falls of the middle course which serve to dam up the violent flow of the stream. The average gradient on the middle course of these great Amazon tributaries, which descend from the central plateau, is steeper than necessary to maintain a normal flow of water. [76]

133 Finally, on the morning of the sixth day as calculated by [491] the Indian, we came upon a tree thrown across the river in the form of a bridge. On the bank stood a crude hut. There was no one around. We blew a horn to call out the owner of the hut, who was probably out hunting in the nearby woods. As no one appeared, we continued our journey. I left behind some trifling gifts to mark the passage of a friendly person.

I thought it best to behave in this fashion, remembering [549] that Lieutenant Captain Soares Pinto had been attacked and killed by the savages for having destroyed some bridges which they had laid across the river. It is impossible to proceed upriver without destroying the bridges, and it is not always feasible to replace them.

For this reason, whenever I found myself unable to replace one in the same spot -- and on that day we encountered four more bridges -- I left gifts to make up in some degree for the damage I had caused the savages. At the end of the day the river became totally impassable: we could not carry the canoe any further. Happily, at this difficult moment we found another bridge over 000 the river and a hut upon the bank. We blew our horn persistently.

[i.e., Necodemos - Ed.]

live in a strongly organized republic; for a long time they have made war on their enemies whenever it has pleased them to do so; they pronounce sentence of [86] death on sorcerers; they have a legend of their own beginnings; and they possess beliefs and traditions which are handed down from generation to generation.

Could these people, I wondered, be descendants of Quechua or Aymara who came down from the Andes and settled in these parts? I investigated their traditions with the greatest care, and questioned repeatedly the oldest inhabitants of the maloca as to whether their ancestors might have come from the high and distant lands that lie towards the sun's hiding place. But they invariably answered that it had not been so; the first men to appear upon the earth had founded the maloca of Acupari. Caru-Sacaebê appeared among them and taught them how to hunt: until then the game had been poor; Caru-Sacaebê caused larger game to appear.

He had neither father nor mother; he had a son by the name of Carutaũ and a companion by the name of Rairu, who acknowledged him as his master.

One day, Caru-Sacaebê had no luck in hunting. He returned to Acupari and sent his son Carutaũ to ask the hunters for some of the fowl -- inhambu and partridge -- which they had killed in abundance.

The hunters however, turned him down and mockingly threw Carutaũ the birds' feathers, saying: "Your father, too, is a good hunter."

Thrice Caru-Sacaebê repeated his request; thrice the hunters turned him down.

Then Caru-Sacaebê gathered up the feathers which they had mockingly thrown at Carutaũ and thrust them one by one into the ground around the maloca. And suddenly, with one gesture, he changed all the inhabitants of Acupari -- men and women, old people, youths and children -- into wild pigs.

The hungry animals roared and threshed about [87] and were about to scatter, when with another gesture Caru-Sacaebê turned the feathers into high hills.

773 Now it so happens that a large cave actually exists near the
[323] present site of Acupari. The Mundurucu say that even today the grunts of wild pigs and cries of agony may be heard there.

Others state that women's ornaments such as bracelets made of chestnut shells may be found near the cave entrance, as well as other vestiges of the tremendous catastrophe. The Mundurucu dare not enter the cave of Acupari.

Then Caru-Sacaebê left with Rairu, the only survivor of the disaster.

Arriving at the place where Necodemos stands today, he stamped his foot upon the ground, and from the large fissure that resulted he drew one pair of Mundurucu, one of white people, one of Indians, and one of Negroes.

[302] Caru-Sacaebê painted the Mundurucu couple in the same fashion as he himself was painted, and this was the origin of the maloca of Necodemos and the beginnings of the tribe, which grew so large and powerful that the earth shook when they marched off to war.

The white people, the Indians and the Negroes set off to populate other lands.

In Necodemos, Caru-Sacaebê laid out a field and sowed it, and when the first rains fell there sprouted manioc, maize, sweet potato, yam, cotton, and other food-yielding and medicinal plants.

He taught how to build ovens and how to make manioc flour.

He made a small wooden statue, gave it life, and named it Hanhu-Acauâte; this was his second son.

To provide Hanhu-Acauâte with a mother, Caru-Sacaebê took as consort a maiden of the tribe by the name of Chicricha. [88]

Hanhu-Acauâte grew; some women eluded the vigilance of Chicricha and seduced him.

Caru-Sacaebê changed Hanhu-Acauâte into an ant, and Chicricha and the guilty women into fish.

Necodemos was already strong and powerful.

773 Caru-Sacaebê drew on a high rock between Acupari and
172 Necodemos those symbolic characters which are still to be seen

773 on the hills of Areucrê. He had Rairũ snatched away by the clouds,
172 and he himself disappeared from Necodemos, following the course of the Tapajoz; on the left bank of the river, at a height no human hand can reach, he also drew some characters on the cliff of Cantagalo.

773 And since then no one has known where he is. The Mundurucu faithfully preserve the memory of his deeds, and paint themselves, their wives and their children in exactly the same fashion as Caru-Sacaebê was painted.

VI

Appearance of the dog in Necodemos -- Legend

Among all peoples, the dog is looked upon as a faithful
[825] friend. The Mundurucu, who are hunting savages, picture the dog in their legends as descended from a maiden of their tribe and from an unknown warrior, who appeared in the maloca and disappeared again without anyone finding out who he was, whence he had come, or where he had gone. He was a deus ignotus.

The story ran as follows. After Caru-Sacaebê had disappeared, the Mundurucu of Necodemos continued [89] to hunt, searching every part of the plains and forests. One day, while they were out hunting, an unknown warrior by the name of Caru-Pitubê appeared at the maloca.

He went to the ekçá, climbed into a hammock, seized a horn from the roof, and proceeded to blow upon it in a peculiar way. A maiden of the maloca, Iracheru by name, responded to
[262] [514] the call and offered the warrior dau [food prepared from Brazil nuts] as a sign of good hospitality.

Caru-Pitubê had arrived almost at nightfall.

There was no one else in Necodemos.

773 At dawn of the following day, Caru-Pitubê said to the maiden:

"You will give birth to beings who will astonish the warriors of your tribe. Do not kill them."

And he vanished.

Great indeed was the terror, amazement and indignation in Necodemos when Iracheru gave birth to a pair of dogs.

Iracheru's brothers and her own mother were the first to pronounce against her the sentence of death.

But when the executioners approached to kill Iracheru and her newborn babes, she fled swift as an ema bird into the woods, snatching in her trembling arms the fruit of her mysterious loves.

Wandering through the forest, Iracheru finally stopped, exhausted, by the source of a clear brook.

But it was not long till the young mother beheld already grown the children she had nursed with such difficulty, warming them at night against her fiery bosom.

Finally she saw them crossing the woods and the fields hunting and bringing back inhambu birds and partridges, and then Iracheru lived in the midst of plenty. [90]

At night her children made formidable guards, and they watched over her unceasingly. Even the jaguar kept fearfully away.

One day, Iracheru went to Necodemos and recounted these marvels.

She knew well that if the warriors of Necodemos did not revoke the death sentence, she alone would die; her children would easily elude the executioners.

But if the sentence were to be revoked, the Mundurucu would become the masters of the forests and the plains; they would vanquish all other tribes; their rule would go unchallenged.

The children of Iracheru were received amid general applause; the whole tribe acknowledged them as their own.

And indeed the Mundurucu treat the dog as their own offspring; the women suckle newborn pups at their own breast and shelter them in their hammocks with the children as if they had been born of the same womb.

When a dog dies it is copiously mourned and its body carefully buried, for it would be considered impious to abandon it to the vultures.

172 I shall offer no conjectures as to the origin or meaning of these characters. I shall only point out that Humboldt found characters of the same type similarly located on the banks of the Orinoco [105] at a height inaccessible to human hands.

If I remember correctly, this famous scholar is of the opinion that in remote times the level of Orinoco waters rose to a much greater height than today.

I believe that the same deductions reached by the famous German scholar about the Orinoco would apply to the characters of the Upper Tapajoz.

I made a sketch of the characters on the Upper Tapajoz; I do not know whether they are symbolic.

When I showed them to the Mundurucu of Necodemos and Samuuma (Aikã), they all told me that similar characters are to be found in greater numbers on the hills of Areucrê, in the midst of the plains which stretch between Acupari and Necodemos. I had no opportunity to see them.

173 Mundurucu tradition holds that Caru-Sacaebê, after destroying the maloca of Acupari to punish its inhabitants for their ingratitude, went on to found Necodemos, which thus became the cradle of the human race. It was then, according to the same tradition, that he drew those characters between the two villages, as a monument to recall this memorable event. When Caru-Sacaebê left Necodemos, which had become wealthy and powerful, he went down the Tapajoz River and left some further characters on its banks to preserve more vividly among the Mundurucu the memory of his deeds and of his stay among them. [107]

XV

The Mundurucu pronounce sentence of death against sorcerers.-- Some of the more recent applications of this sentence.

174 As late as the beginning of this [19th] century, Portuguese law burned alive in public squares those unfortunate victims accused of being sorcerers by the credulity and superstition of the

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
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"In olden days the sibs, *rinat*, lived very far apart from one another. They warred among themselves. Then they became brothers.[3] Karusakaibê said, 'No more killing! Let us just be brothers.' 'Now let us be gay. Now everything is all right,' said he."

In this manner through Karusakaibê there arose the Mundurucú confederacy. The brave "Black-faces" have done quite right in giving this noble Indian the honorable title "*Our Father*". As they express it, *Karusakaibê wey ebai*, "Karusakaibê is our father."

Myth of Early Matriarchy and of its Abolition

This tale was received in two versions. I shall here relate the shorter of the two.

"In olden days the women were in possession of the Men's House, *êksa*, while the men lived in the Big House, *êkqa*.

"The men had to do all the work for the women. They had to hunt, fetch firewood, and even provide the mandioca roots and bake the meal. All these things they did. They also carried the water.

"Now, at this time three women—namely, Yanyubêri, the ruler of our people, Taiñbiru and Parawarê—found three *kaduke*. They took these wind instruments in a brook: they caught three little Jeju fishes. They tried the instruments. 'They sound good,' said they. Now they played: they played every day in the forest. Secretly they went there. Then the men became suspicious. 'Where can the women be going all the time?' they said. They hid themselves and kept watch. Then it was that they saw how the women played. Said the men, 'What shall we do?' 'We don't know,' they concluded. Then said the youngest brothers of Yanyubêri, that is Marimarebê and Mariburubê: 'Let us take the *kaduke* away from them. Why, the women folk don't even hunt, whereas we have to take this work upon ourselves alone!' So they spoke, and took the *kaduke* for themselves. They tried them. 'They sound good,' they said. Then they played.[1]

[3] Wiaᵘnyen of Witûri appeared in October, 1927. From the signs which they left behind them, our Mundurucú concluded that these people who speak a related language wanted to become brothers.

[1] [See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A.--Analyst]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs. The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants. At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special beverage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house; the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibõ, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons. When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusakaibõ (Caru-Sacaibê (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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Karusakaibu (Farabee, 1917 a). His wife, Sikrida (Strömer, 1932); Chicridha (Tocantins, 1877), is a *Mundurucú* woman. Korumtau (Carutau (ibid.)) is his eldest son and his second born is Anukaite (Hanu-Acuate (ibid.)). Karusakaibõ's companion and helper is Daiiru (Rayru (ibid.)), an armadillo.

Conflict between Karusakaibõ and his sons and companion is a recurrent theme in several myths reported by Strõmer and Tocantins. In one story, Anukaite is seduced by his mother. Karusakaibõ learns of the incest and in anger pursues his son. Anukaite delays his flight to have sexual intercourse with several importunate women whom he meets on the way; his father overtakes him and transforms him into a tapir. The insatiable women are transformed into fish.

On another occasion the offenders are Daiiru and Korumtau. Their offense is not explained clearly in the account (Strömer, 1932) but appears to involve an improper relationship between Korumtau and some peccaries, for which Daiiru is partly responsible. Again the guilty are pursued by Karusakaibõ; to evade his father, Korumtau transforms himself successively into a peccary, a cricket, a bird, and a monkey. Once he is wounded by an arrow shot by the pursuing father, but the armadillo draws the arrow from the wound. The animals of the forest give aid by warning of the father's approach. Finally, the two fugitives throw themselves into a body of water and escape.

The *Mundurucú* origin myth tells of the emergence of mankind from under the ground. According to one version (Farabee, 1917 a), Karusakaibõ had made the world but had not created men. One day Daiiru, the armadillo, offended the creator and was forced to take refuge in a hole in the ground. Karusakaibõ blew into the hole and stamped his foot on the earth. Daiiru was blown out of the hole by the rush of air. He reported that people were living in the earth. He and Karusakaibõ made a cotton rope and lowered it into the hole. The people began to climb out. When half of them had emerged, the rope broke and half remained underground, where they still live. The sun passes through their country from west to east when it is night on the earth; the moon shines there when the earth has moonless nights. According to another version of the tale (Tocantins, 1877), the creator stamped his foot at the site of the village of Necodemos; White people, Indians, and Negroes emerged from a fissure in the ground. The creator tattooed the *Mundurucú* like himself; the Whites and Negroes scattered. Karusakaibõ then showed the *Mundurucú* how to raise manioc, maize, cotton, and other plants and how to utilize them. It was he who traced the petroglyphs now found on certain cliffs in the region of Necodemos. Another origin-of-agriculture myth is given in a text gathered by Strõmer (1937).

Kruse (1934) reports a myth in which the women are said to have once been in possession of the men's house, while the men lived in the

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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773 562 dwelling house. The men did all the work, including such women's tasks as fetching firewood, providing manioc, and baking manioc meal. The woman ruler of the tribe and two companions found three sacred trumpets and secretly practiced playing on them in the forest. When the men discovered the secret, they took the trumpets away from the women. The women were sent to the dwelling house and were forbidden to look again upon the trumpets, while the men took possession of the men's house.

773 Both Strömer (1932) and Farabee (1917 a) report a myth which tells that the sun once fell upon the earth and destroyed its inhabitants by fire. Five days after the fire, the creator sent a vulture from the sky to see if the earth had cooled, but the vulture remained to eat the bodies of men who had been killed. After 4 days a blackbird was sent, but it remained to eat the charred buds of the trees. Four days later, the creator sent a dove, which returned with earth between its claws. Then the creator came down and recreated men and animals of white potter's clay.[4]

LORE AND LEARNING

773 821 A few miscellaneous cosmological beliefs were obtained by Farabee: Karusakaibö created the sun by transforming a young man who had red eyes and long white hair. The moon is a transformed virgin with white skin. The rain spirit makes thunder by rolling a pestle in a mortar. The constellations are men and animals in a great savanna. An eclipse of the sun is due to a great fire which sweeps over its surface. A powerful shaman once ascended to the sun and put out the fire. Now, when an eclipse occurs, the shaman sends his yakpu to clear the sun. The yakpu (a fragment of meteoric iron) falls to the earth as a ball of fire. After it cools, the shaman puts it away until the next eclipse.

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113 Baena, 1885; Barbosa Rodrigues, 1882 a; Bates, 1892; Campana, 1904–06; Chandless, 1862, 1870; Coudreau, H., 1897 a; Farabee, 1917 a; Hartt, 1885; Hörschelmann, 1918–20; Katzer, 1901; Koseritz, 1885; Kruse, 1934; Martius, 1867; Nimuendajú, 1938; Nordenskiöld, 1924 b; Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3; Steinen, 1899; Strömer, 1932, 1937; Tocantins, 1877; Wood, 1868–70.

[4] For texts of some of the myths given in condensed form above, see Strömer (1932); for other myths, not included in this account, see Strömer (ibid.) and Tocantins (1877). Farabee (1917 a) also gives three animal fables which he attributes to the *Mundurucú*.

614 The existence of the sib system was first reported by Mme. Agassiz in 1865[16] and was more thoroughly described by Fr. Alberto Kruse, O.F.M. in 1934.[17] The latter reported only thirty four sibs, but this is understandable by the fact that no one Mundurucú can remember more than twenty five to thirty. In addition, these sibs were grouped by now obscure linkages into unnamed phratries. For the purposes of this paper, it will be unnecessary to give a list of the sibs and their affiliations. Sib and moiety membership was inherited in the patrilineal line. The exogamic moieties were the ultimate marriage regulators as they subsumed the sibs in this function. There were no other exogamous groupings.

Totemic features were generally lacking in the Mundurucú sibs. Each sib was named for an animal, plant, [784] or fish but there were no taboos on the killing or eating of the fish or animals. However, they were vaguely considered to be ancestors, or "the old people," a term that is also applied to the people of the mythological age. Kruse reports [773] the myth that the various sibs in ancient times were warring tribes that were united to form the Mundurucú tribe and were given names and ancestors by the culture hero, Karusakaibö.[18] My informants could not confirm this myth but said merely that the Mundurucú were already existent and that Karusakaibe divided them into sibs and assigned ancestors to each one. The Mundurucú term for these sibs is <u>diwat</u> (literally,

16. Agassiz, 1869, p. 320.

17. Kruse, 1934.

18. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 51-52.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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614 428 that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were abandoned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as [423] such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The [582] only matrilineal traits manifested by the Mundurucú were a taboo on marriage [586] with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

614 616 The Mundurucú were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan [835] and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Mundurucú, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasion- [587] ally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. [582] Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Mundurucú informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tubö*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[2] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tubö* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

614 The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Mundurucú in- [735] formants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibö, divided the Mundurucú into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1934) reported a myth wherein the Mundurucú were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Mundurucú word for the clan, *diwat*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *diwat* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudiwat, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

11: Murphy
539, 773

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[For the texts of 58 Mundurucu myths and folktales, see category 116, pp. 70-132.]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

II. HEROES AND SPIRITS

771 776 MUNDURUCÚ RELIGION is animistic in its broadest outlines, although vague and unpersonalized concepts of power pervade belief. Spirits and powers are active agents in Mundurucú life, and the constant manipulation and propitiation of them are essential to the well-being of the tribe.

CULTURE HEROES

773 Culture heroes were people of great supernatural power who lived in mythological times and who were responsible for creating people and much of the animal world. They are also believed to have endowed the Mundurucú with certain items of their culture, although the origin of most of it is not rationalized by mythology. Culture heroes are considered by the Mundurucú to be people of a remote past who accomplished wonderful deeds and then passed out of contact with the world of people and nature. They are in no way worshipped or manipulated nor are they objects of fear and veneration or, outside of their existence in the myth cycle, the subjects of much thought or interest.

One culture hero, Karusakaibö, stands above all the rest to such a degree that C. Strömer has referred to him as a "Hochgott."[1] Although the "Gott" stem of the appelation, as applied to Karusakaibö, does violence to most definitions of deity, Karusakaibö's dominant position in Mundurucú mythology is undeniable. Like many culture heroes, his origin is unexplained. He exists in a cycle of six myths in the course of which people, the peccary, and the tapir are created, and the hills and sky are formed. Karusakaibö, although an extraordinary person of great power, was believed to be a Mundurucú who lived in a village named Uacuparí, situated near, but not identical with, a recent Mundurucú village of the same name. His son Korumtau, his wife Shikiridjá, and his sisters also enter into his adventures.

773 797 Karusakaibö has been syncretized by the Mundurucú with the Christian God preached to them by missionaries from the nineteenth century to the present day. The missionaries followed the example of the Jesuits of the early colonial period and have translated "God" as Tupan, the Tupian thunder deity; the Mundurucú have partly integrated the Christian and native myth cycles by incorporating pleasing tales from the Old and New Testament into their own mythology and substituting their own Karusakaibö for the missionary's Tupan. However, the subtleties of the concept of the Trinity have resulted in some ambiguity, and Karusakaibö is equated alternately with the Father and the Son.

773 797 842 Identification of the Christian deity and the principal Mundurucú culture hero has altered the position of the latter somewhat. Many Indians, especially those in closest contact with the mission, offer the influence of Karusakaibö as explanation for many phenomena not specifically accounted for in the cycle of Karusakaibö myths. As an example, various women stated that a couple must copulate several times to have children. After sufficient semen is accumulated within the woman, Karusakaibö (or Tupan, according to some informants) enters

[1] Strömer, 1932, pp. 5–6.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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the woman and blows upon the semen, giving it life. Such atypical intervention in everyday affairs by the culture hero remained puzzling until it was learned that the nuns explain pregnancy to the girls at the mission school by telling them that Tupan places babies inside their bodies.

In all his activities, Karusakaibö is accompanied by his constant companion, Daiiru, a trickster armadillo whose plots and interference are essential to nearly all of the culture hero's acts. In spite of the hero's great power, he finds it difficult to eliminate the wily armadillo and succeeds only at the end of the myth cycle, when he turns him into a tree that now holds up the sky.

The other Mundurucú culture heroes are of decidedly less importance and do not appear in the body of Karusakaibö mythe. There is a three-part saga in which two men named Karuetaouibö and Wakurumpö ascend to the sky and become the visible sun. The latter was an especially powerful shaman whose powers were so great that he once caused the sun to grow dark. He ended the eclipse by magically scraping off the face of the sun.

Moraichökö is the subject of a brief tale in which he is credited with making the rock paintings that are frequently encountered in the country adjacent to the Tapajós River. Since most of these paintings are on inaccessible cliffs, Moraichökö is acknowledged by the Mundurucú to have been a person of considerable supernatural power.

A series of four other stories surrounds Nung-nung, who is now in the Milky Way. In other stories, a man named Karukchewe was transformed into the tree from whose wood bows are made, and an old woman named Kapiru was responsible for the origin of horticulture. Thus, although Karusakaibö is viewed as the most important and powerful of the culture heroes, he was not responsible for the creation of all Mundurucú culture.

Another class of culture heroes had no part in the creation of the natural or human environment, but are figures in sagas. A long legend is told about the wanderings of Perisuat, and the wars of Yurichungpö and Karudaiibi are related in a two-part cycle. There are several such personages and, though many have some supernatural gifts, none is as powerful as Karusakaibö and Wakurumpö. Nonetheless, the stories of these mythical characters are important in the education of the young and in the expression of themes central to Mundurucú values and world view.

Spirit Mothers

The most important single class of supernaturals believed to be active in the world are the spirit mothers of the game animals.[1] The generic spirit mother of all game animals and the various mothers of certain species must be continually

[1] Belief in spirit mothers, owners, or protectors of animals and plants is widespread in the Amazon basin. For example, Oberg (1953, pp. 53–54) reports the concept of spirit mothers of plants and animals from the upper Xingú River, and Wagley and Galvão (1949, p. 102) describe two Tenetehara spirits, the Owner of the Forest and the Owner of the Water, which are clearly related to the Mundurucú spirits. Belief in these bush supernaturals is evidently extremely tenacious, for Wagley (1953, p. 235) reports the concept of the "mãe de bicho" among the Brazilian residents of the town of "Ita." Most groups in eastern Brazil visualize these protector spirits as mothers; in contrast, the Taulipang refer to them as fathers (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, pp. 176–177).

V. MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

A collection of fifty-eight myths and folktales was recorded in the villages of Missão Velha and Cabruá. The latter community, one of the more conservative savannah settlements, was far more productive of traditional lore of all kinds and most of the material below was gathered there. Although this chapter represents the complete body of oral literature collected in the field, there is undoubtedly more available if a wider range of Mundurucú informants were to be sampled. Some myths, such as that of the origin of clans collected by Father Kruse,[1] were specifically sought, but were unknown to those questioned. Mundurucú mythology has undoubtedly undergone considerable attenuation, and these may be among the large number of stories no longer extant.

The older Mundurucú say that oral literature was formerly much more actively recounted and transmitted. During the evenings, the elders told tales to all the assembled men, and children were brought to listen. These sessions are no longer frequent, but considerable interest is still manifest among the listeners. A number of men and children and usually some women gathered around whenever I found an informant with a story. Indeed, without an audience the narrator would not put forth his best efforts. The delivery was always quite animated and was accompanied by vivid gestures, imitations of animals, and dialogues between the personages in the story. The audience gave full attention, and it was considered most disrespectful to create any diversion during the narration. All laughed readily and spontaneously at the appropriate passages, although many had heard the tale several times before.

The stories themselves range over a variety of subjects and are told for a number of purposes. They have been broken down into six major categories to provide continuity. This does not represent an attempt toward a systematic classification of the myths; actually the categories overlap considerably. For example, the animal tales are generally told for amusement, but they frequently explain the origins of certain species. On the other hand, the Karusakaibö cycle is a true creation myth and is centered upon the activities of the principal culture hero. There are numerous passages in this myth cycle, however, that are considered highly humorous by both narrators and audiences, and in other incidents animals are also created. Similarly, a category of cosmological myths has been included, but there are several events in other tales that are also important to an understanding of Mundurucú cosmology.

Through all, there is a running theme of the importance of the animal world to Mundurucú society and of the close interrelation between the two. In many tales, animals either have the form of people or are able to take on this form. The mythology does more than explain the origin of animal species, for in almost all cases the various animals are transformed people. That the species had their origin in the human world tends to reinforce the special significance given them in ceremonies and the supernatural belief system.

This affinity between animals and humans will be evident in the saga of

[1] Kruse, 1954, pp. 56–57.

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Periquit, the young man who makes an incredible journey through the forest and returns home more animal than human. The Mundurucú visualize themselves as hunters and voyagers of the forest, and the odyssey of Periquit has deep meaning for them. They are also warriors, and several of the tales abound with head-hunting episodes and warfare. And some are tales of internecine strife, which, to a Mundurucú, is one of the most horrible eventualities imaginable.

The reader familiar with European mythology will recognize many thematic similarities, either independently invented or diffused, in Mundurucú tales. And the student of lowland South American mythology and folklore will see in the Mundurucú another example of the widespread dissemination of tales, in whole or in part, throughout the area. No attempt has been made toward any exhaustive distributional analysis of this material, and only a few of the more interesting parallels have been noted.

The Karusakaibé Cycle of World Creation

The major creation legends of the Mundurucú revolve around the figure of the culture hero, KARUSAKAIBÉ. Métraux has made the apt suggestion that this personage merits the title of "transformer" rather than "creator" and compares him to Maira, a figure widespread in Tupian mythology.[5] But apart from this rough similarity of roles of the two culture heroes, the Mundurucú creation legends seem to be quite divergent from those of most other Tupian groups. The Tupian grandfather personage, subsumed under the names of Monan, Maira-Monan or Sumé, is absent, as are the twins commonly found in Tupian creation myths.[6] Despite these points of difference in the structure of the tales and in the main actors, there are numerous parallels of episode and theme between the Mundurucú creation cycle and the oral literature of Tupian and other South American groups.

The first story of the Karusakaibé legend shows a marked resemblance to a Christian-influenced tale collected by Wagley and Galvão among the Tenetehara and entitled by them, "Creation of Wild Pigs."[7] In both Tenetehara and Mundurucú versions, a culture hero imprisons a group of people in a wall of feathers and converts them into peccaries. Other Tenetehara resemblances include the widespread emphasis on the tapir as a symbol of virility, as derived no doubt from the size of the genitalia of the male of the species. In one Tenetehara story, a woman marries a tapir,[8] and in the corresponding Mundurucú tale the culture hero transforms his sexually precocious son into that animal. Another widely distributed theme is found in the discovery of humans in the underworld. Nimuendajú relates an Eastern Timbira story in which the discovery is made by a man digging for an armadillo,[9] whereas in the Mundurucú episode the armadillo

[5] Métraux, 1928, p. 27.

[6] The Mundurucú denied all knowledge of episodes concerning twins and even claimed that twins were an unknown phenomenon in their own society. It is interesting to note that though other forms of infanticide were freely admitted, they specifically disavowed the killing of twins. They are not and were not a genetically isolated population, and I assume that the practice exists but that there was very strong resistance to giving this information.

[7] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 134.

[8] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 146–149.

[9] Nimuendajú, 1946, pp. 247–248.

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773 538 171 himself makes the find. In the further development of the Mundurucú story the culture hero pulls a number of peoples out of the underworld, but his cord breaks and many are left behind. This theme is distributed beyond South America, as in the Magic Flight passage found in the first tale of the Karusakaibé cycle.

1. KARUSAKAIBÉ AND THE WILD PIGS

A539 In times long past, Karusakaibé lived in the village of Uaupari. This settlement was not at the site of the modern Uaupari, but was near by.

During one dry season Karusakaibé and all the people of the village were out hunting in the forest, where they lived in temporary lean-tos. That of Karusakaibé was separated from those of the other people, and he stayed there alone with his son Korumtan. The people killed a great deal of game, but in that time there were no tapir, wild pig, or veado capoeira; the only equivalent of the wild pig was the cutiti. Karusakaibé, however, hunted the nambú bird to the exclusion of all other game, and every day he sent Korumtan to the lean-tos of his sisters to see if they had killed any game that their husbands had taken. On the first three days that Korumtan went to the lean-tos of his aunts, they said to him, "We do not have any meat, but we will get you some." On the fourth day the aunts became angry with the boy and said to him, "Your father hunts only nambú which is no good to eat, and we always have to give you food. We do not have any." Korumtan began to cry and went away. The sisters called him back, offering him food, but he would not return.

The boy returned home crying, and Karusakaibé asked him what had happened. He replied that the aunts had scolded him because the nambús did not please them. Karusakaibé said, "They will pay for this," and sent his son outside to gather the feathers of the parrot, the mutúm, the jacú, and the nambú and to bring them back to him. There were many feathers outside, for Karusakaibé had killed many birds, and the boy gathered them and brought them back. The father then transformed his son into a small bird, the *tãkãrrajujut*, and sent him out to surround the lean-tos of all the other people with the feathers. In this disguise, Korumtan flew around the lean-tos and planted the feathers in the ground, quills first. As he went about his task, he sang the song of the bird. He was nearly out of feathers when someone in one of the lean-tos called out, "Who is that singing out there," and threw a piece of burning firewood at him. The boy flew away and returned to his father.

Karusakaibé asked the returned son, "Did you put all the feathers in the ground?" The boy said that he had not finished, and his father sent him out for more feathers. He replenished his supply and finished his task in two more days.

Upon completion of his chore, Korumtan reported to Karusakaibé, and the latter told him, "Now go back and tie the feathers together at the top." For this purpose he transformed the boy into a frog and made the feathers grow to a great size. The boy, in the guise of a frog, returned to the encircled lean-tos and climbed a tree, singing the song of the frog, "pik, pik, pik . . . " as he tied the tips of the feathers together. When he finished, the lean-tos and their environs

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warrior be buried by members of the opposite moiety in his homeland, no matter how far from home he had fallen. A member of his iboiwatitit was therefore responsible for bringing his humerus back to the village for proper interment, in lieu of the body. Since a seriously wounded warrior had to be left behind, and would obviously die of hunger or at the hands of the enemy, the iboiwatitit member cut off the arm bone while he was still alive. It was realized that the man would then die, but informants say that the iboiwatitit would not be denied its pleasure.

Other moiety-linked roles were exercised during ceremonies. The members of the *Biuli anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir) society recruited their unwilling neophytes from the opposite moiety during the Ceremony of the Game, and children were ritually "captured" for instruction in warrior songs by members of the other moiety during the war ceremonies. The disappearance of the ceremonies has eliminated these moiety prerogatives, but the joking and burial functions remain. Other extant manifestations of membership may be found in the practice of dyeing a child's carrying sling with his moiety color and in the sleeping arrangements of the men's house.

Although the clans bear eponymous names, they lack most totemic features. Clan members do not observe any special relationship with the animal, plant, fish, or bird for which their descent group is named, nor do they recognize any personal affiliation with these objects. Each clan has an ancestral spirit, referred to as a *tubö*; this term is also used to denote the culture heros and can be loosely translated as "great ancestor." The tubö of a clan bears the same name as the clan. Thus, the tubö of the macaw clan is the macaw. Suggestive though this may be of belief in descent from the eponymous object, the mythology in no way supports such a conclusion. In fact, no formal

614 773 myth on clan origins exists among the contemporary Mundurucú. Informants merely stated that the tribe was once homogeneous, but the culture hero Karusakaibö divided the group into clans and assigned the eponyms. This belief contrasts with that reported by Kruse, according to [114] which the Mundurucú were once independent and mutually hostile tribes that were welded into a social entity by Karusakaibö through the expedient of converting each tribe into a clan.[1] The latter account and the previously 614 mentioned lack of a clear-cut concept of descent from the eponym are instructive when seen in the light of the term for clan. This word, *diwat*, means literally "dwellers of the river" (*di* = river, *wat* = dwellers). Thus, the clan name *Paruwadiwat* can be translated as "Dwellers of the River of the Yellow Macaw." This suggests that the clans were originally localized entities, rather than the present highly dispersed groupings. If this is true, it would 614 contrast strikingly with contemporary clanship, for the 591 Mundurucú are—and this is important—predominantly matrilocal. Under the latter residence rule, young men affiliate with the villages and households of their brides; fathers, sons, and brothers are thereby separated, and clan membership, given the patrilineal mode of descent, becomes scattered throughout the tribe. An earlier phase of lineage and clan localization would imply patrilocality, and we are here presented with the possibility that the Mundurucú underwent a basic change in rule of residence. There is more evidence for this than the conjecture raised by the term for clan, and the argument will be pursued in the following discussion of the ritual prerogatives of clanship.

614 Each savannah village has a men's house, which is the [345] dormitory and club house for all post-pubescent males.

[1] Kruse, 1934, pp. 56–57.

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leaf walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karökö spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karökö consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attenuated, and each karökö is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The karökö has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social roles considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They returned with nets and caught three fish, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

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534 562 773 778 complied under the condition that they could occupy the men's house and play the trumpets there. The men acceded, and the women, their position supernaturally reinforced by the instruments, assumed the roles of men. The latter drew water, chopped firewood, and made *beiṗó* (the flat manioc flour cake), just as the women do now. And throughout the night the women left their hammocks in the *ekaś* and went to the dwelling houses, where they forced the men to have coitus regardless of their desires, just as the men do to the women today. The women could not hunt, however, and were thus unable to feed the trumpets properly; they were therefore forced to relinquish them to the men. Since that time, the men have jealously guarded the instruments even from the sight of the females, lest they again assume dominance.

534 562 778 834 Their role of hunters, and their special relationship to the karökö is one of the social charters of male superordination. Beyond this, one can discern the outlines of the classical castration-anxiety theme. The trumpets are unmistakably phallic in design (as are bull roarers), and when the women owned them they usurped male roles, including the significant one of the aggressive part in sexual relations. The men accomplished a counterrevolution, but their manhood is still threatened. This appears in the occasional appearance of the vagina-dentata motif, such as in humorous references to the female organ as the "crocodile's mouth." Moreover, a punishment exists for women who spy upon the karökö, although nobody can remember this ever to have happened. The punishment is perfectly symbolic; the guilty woman is gang-raped by all the men of the village. Thus, the position of the male is symbolized and reinforced by the trumpets, and threats to this position are coped with by an act of phallic sadism. This conclusion may seem to be based on an inferential analysis,

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structure.[6] The religious life of the contemporary savannah dwellers has been largely reduced to the practices of shamanism and sorcery, and group ceremonial activities have for the most part disappeared with little prospect of revival. One or two half-hearted attempts have been made by older men to resurrect parts of the ritual cycle, but they have met with lack of enthusiasm on the part of the young and have failed largely through inability to organize properly. Today, the Mundurucú regard the decadence of their religion as part of their transition to the status of foreigner (pariwat), and have resigned themselves to this situation.

The focus of Mundurucú religion in the past was the relationship between society and the animal world. This was consistent with the cultural emphasis on hunting, in terms of importance to subsistence and as a highly valued masculine activity.[7] The mythology is concerned with the origins of species of animals, which significantly were either human or had human form in mythological times, and an important class of supernaturals is believed to exert protection over game. The latter spirits are of two kinds: there is a generic spirit "mother" of all game animals, and several of the more important species have their own particular spirit "mothers." If offense is given to these supernaturals through such means as killing an animal for its hide and leaving the carcass to rot, they take swift vengeance against the guilty party. This is usually done by supernaturally bringing injury upon the culprit. But the spirit "mothers" can also be benevolent and helpful to the community and can make game abundant, if humans observe proper relations with them.

[6] A full description of Mundurucú religion may be found in my monograph *Mundurucú Religion* (1958).

[7] It will be remembered that the Mundurucú believe that the males wrested the sacred trumpets from the control of the women because only men could supply the meat that must be offered to the instruments.

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for more than a day or two. Almost everybody also makes one trip to the Tapajós River annually. These journeys have two purposes. First, they are pleasure jaunts, and secondly, they provide a chance to search for manufactured articles in the trader's store. On his trips, the trader need only bring as much material as he wishes to distribute; but he takes all the rubber that has been prepared. Some of the more wily Indians withhold some of their production for sale to regatões, but most merely protest to their compá that they have worked hard and expected more. This does little good, of course, for the patron's entire stock in sale is clearly visible in the bottom of his canoe. But, on the other hand, the Indians know that if they go directly to the store, where a large stock of goods is kept, and there make frequent and insistent requests, the patron will ultimately give in. He sometimes accedes because he knows that he cannot indefinitely and unlimitedly withhold from his clients their due, but often the Indian is actually in debt and the trader gives him more merchandise simply to get rid of him.

The constant demands of their Mundurucú clients are a source of continual aggravation to the traders, although they certainly do not lose in their dealings with the Indians. Actually, the technique of insistent requests for obtaining something is established practice in Mundurucú society. Even mythology tells of secrets that were divulged simply through the insistence of the questioner. Since few Mundurucú have the faintest notion of how accounts are computed and only a crude idea of the relative values of quantities of rubber and manufactured goods, this technique has become their standard means of negotiation. The traders keep accounts for their Indian clients, but the amount of merchandise they give to individuals is usually arrived at by compromise.